NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

PHILOSOPHY EAST AND WEST

It is announced that a quarterly journal of this title, with the subtitle 'A Journal of Oriental and Comparative Philosophy,' is to be published, the first issue being due in April 1951. The journal is sponsored by the University of Hawaii and edited by Professor Charles A. Moore of that university. The subscription price is $4.00. Subscription orders may be addressed to: Philosophy East and West, Office of Publications and Information, University of Hawaii, Honolulu 14, Hawaii. Manuscripts and correspondence should be addressed to Professor Charles A. Moore, University of Hawaii.

RECEUIL ÉDOUARD DHORME

It is announced that a volume is being planned to celebrate the 70th birthday of Édouard Dhorme. It will appear in June 1951 and will be entitled Receuil Édouard Dhorme and will contain a number of his more important articles collected from the Journals in which they originally appeared. Advance subscriptions, to be paid when the volume appears, are invited. The special advance subscription price is 1000 francs; the price after publication will be 2500 francs. Subscriptions and inquiries should be addressed to: Imprimerie Nationale, 27 Rue de la Convention, Paris (XV), France.

THE EAST ASIATIC LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

The University of California has announced the acquisition of the printed books, the Japanese maps, Chinese rubbings and other non-manuscript parts of the Mitsui library in Tokyo. About one-third of the 100,000 volumes are in Chinese. Besides the basic Japanese collection and the Imazeki collection of Chinese literature, the main parts are the Gakken collection of scientific literature, the Soshin collection of fine and rare books and the Asami Korean collection. Inquiries from those wishing to consult these books should be addressed to Miss Elizabeth Huff, East Asiatic Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Survey

AFGHAN DESCRIPTIONS OF THE AFGHAN (PASHTO) VERB

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INDIGENOUS DESCRIPTIONS are apt to reflect the attitudes of native speakers towards their languages as well as certain grammatical traditions. Both deserve serious study, since they reveal linguistic forces at work and can provide important additional material for structural analysis. It is the purpose of this article to analyze recent Afghan descriptions of one form-class of their native standard language; our primary source-material is contained in seven grammars written by four different authors in three different languages, four in Pashto, two in Persian, one in English. The verb was selected because it offers greater complexity than other form-classes. First we shall take up the forms of the verb that show, even in their Arabic orthography, a certain amount of dialectal variation (§ 1). Then we shall deal with the following topics: the morphemic analysis of verbal forms and phrases into constituents (§ 2); the recognized verbal categories and subcategories such as tenses, moods, voice, aspect (§ 3); the division into verbal classes based on syntactical and morphological criteria (§ 4); the alleged basic and derived verbal forms, and nominal formation from verbal stems (§ 5); the various verbal phrases mentioned in the descriptions (§ 6). The seven grammars will be referred to by sigilla denoting the names of their authors: M (= S. Muhammad), A (= Ayaazi), R I, II, III, IV (= Rishtin I, II, III, IV), Rah. (= Rahimullah).[1]

[1] M = Saalih Muhamad Khaan, *Paastoo Zheba* ('The Pashto Language'), 1st part: Kabul, 1316 (1937); 2d part: 1317 (1938).
A = Muhamad 'Aẓam Ayaazi, *De Pashtoo Qawaa'id, de matwassitoo makaatibu de paara* ('The Rules of Pashto for Secondary Schools'); Kabul, 1324 (1945).
R I = Sadiqullah Rishtin, *De Paastoo Keli* ('The Key of Pashto'), 6th volume; Kabul, 1326 (1947).
R II = *De Paastoo Keli, Lumraay Lyaarzuucunkey* ('The Key of Pashto, first guide'); Kabul, 1326 (1947).
R III = *De Paastoo Ishtiqaaquna aw Terkibuna* ('The Derivatives and Compounds of Pashto'); Kabul, 1327 (1948).
R IV = *Pashtoo Giraamar, dzhuz i awal*, Engl. title: *Grammar of Pashtu, First Part*; Kabul, Qaws 1327 (December 1948).

1. 1. Afghan Orthography and Phonemes.

The Arabic orthography used in Afghanistan for Pashto and Persian does not normally include diacritical marks for the short vowels (*harakaat* 'movements'). The Pashto short vowel phonemes *a* (*zwar, zabar*), *e*[2] (*zwarakay* 'little zwar'), *i* (*zeer*), *u* (*peess*) are not regularly written in any grammar except M. Even dictionaries like Muhamad Gul Mohmand's *Da Passtoo Sind* (Kabul, 1316 — 1937) or the Pashto-Persian dictionary that is being printed by the Kandahar branch of

Rah. = Qazi Rahimullah Khan, *The Modern Pushtu Instructor*, vol. I; Peshawar, 1938.

The following works on Pashto will be quoted by the names of their authors:

Dorn = Bernhard Dorn, Grammatische Bemerkungen über das Puschtu oder die Sprache der Afghanen, *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, VIme série, tome V, pp. 1-16 (1845).

Raverty = Major H. G. Raverty, *A Grammar of the Puk'hto, Pus'hto, or Language of the Afghâns, in which the Rules are illustrated by examples from the best writers, both poetical and prose* (London and Calcutta, 1867[2]).

Bellew = Henry Walter Bellew, *A Grammar of the Pukkhto or Pukshto Language on a New and Improved System* (London, 1867).

Trumpp = Dr. E. Trumpp, Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse des Paśtô; zugleich eine Kritik von Raverty's Grammar of the Pushtô und von Bellew's Grammar of the Pukkhtô Language; II. Theil: Das Verbum, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 23. 1-133 (Leipzig, 1869).

Roos-Keppel = Major G. Roos-Keppel and Qazi Abdul Ghani Khan, *A Manual of Pushtu* (London, 1901).

Lorimer = Major D. L. R. Lorimer, *Pashtu; Part I: Syntax of Colloquial Pashtu with Chapters on the Persian and Indian Elements in the Modern Language* (Oxford, 1915).

Morgenstierne = Georg Morgenstierne, Archaisms and Innovations in Pashto Morphology, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 12. 88-114 (1940).

[2] This 'zwarakay,' pronounced as 'shva' [ə], is a typical Pashto sound. M uses a modified, i.e. level Arabic sign for 'zwar,' = [a], for it; in Afghan publications sometimes a *hamza* is written for it finally or before *y*. Trumpp transcribed it as (ạ), Lorimer as (ụ); Sir George A Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 10, used a small raised (ᵊ) for it; J. Darmsteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans* (1880-1890): (å); Morgenstierne: a. We write *e* in this article.

the Afghan Department of Publications, have to indicate after each entry what the pronunciation of the consonants is: 'vowelless' (*saakin*) or 'possessing' (i. e. followed by) *zwar* or *zwarakay* or *zeer* or *peess*. The distinction between *a* and *e* in final position is usually described as two different types of final *-h*.[3]

The following long vowel phonemes and diphthongs are found in Pashto: *aa* (*alif*), *ee* (*madzhhula yee*), *i*[4] (*ma'arufa yee*), *ay* (*mulayina yee*), *ey* and *ei* (*saq'la yee*), *oo* (*madzhhul waaw*), *u*[4] (*ma'aruf waaw*), *aw*. The distinction between *ee* and *i* can be expressed by the orthography. There is a special symbol for *ei*; sometimes the *e* (*zwarakay*) in *ey* is indicated by the *hamza* sign. But *ay* and *y* (*yee*); *oo u aw w* (*waaw*) are not differentiated by the spelling.

Afghan orthography has also simple Arabic symbols for the following consonant phonemes: *m, n, r* (tongue-tip trill), *rr* (*rree*; a retroflexed lateral flap), *l, nn* (*nnun*, a nasal *rr*), *b, p, d* (*daal*, dental), *t* (*tee*, dental), *dd* (*ddaal*, retroflexed postalveolar), *tt* (*ttee*, retroflexed postalveolar), *g, k, gh* (*ghayn*; velar voiced fricative), *kh* (*khee*; velar voiceless fricative), *z, zh* (*zhee*), *zz* (*zzee*; retroflexed *zh*), *s, sh* (*shin*), *ss* (*ssin*; retroflexed *sh*); for the consonant clusters *dz* (*dzee*), *ts* (*tsee*),[5] *tsh* (*tshee*), *dzh* (*dzhim*). Phonemes in Arabic and Persian loanwords such as *f, q* (glottalized or velarized *k*), *' ('ayn*; glottal stop or constriction), and even *ḥ* (*h* with pharyngeal constriction) may occur as educated or elegant pronunciations but the Arabic symbol called *hwee* (*ẖ*) is always pronounced like *t* (*tee*); *swaad* (*s*), *see* (*s*) like *s* (*sin*); *zaal* (*ż*), *zwaad* (*z*), *zwee* (*ẓ*) like *z* (*zee*). Among the symbols adopted for our Roman transcription of Pashto and Persian words, gemination of vowels indicates length (*aa, ee, oo*), of consonants retroflexion (*dd, tt, ss, zz, nn, rr*); *h* after a consonant indicates strong spirantization (*gh, kh, sh, zh*).

[3] Final *a* is called 'clear *h*' by R. (*ẓaahira hee* I. 4; *askaara hee* III. 42; *haai dzhali* III. 82); final *e*: 'hidden *h*' (*khafi hee* I. 4; III. 40). In the Kandahar dialect *e* occurs often where *a* is found elsewhere, e. g. *be* for *ba*, *de* for *da*, *te* for *ta*, even *ssedze* 'woman' for *ssedza*, etc. A's description of 'silent *h*' (*haa-i ghayr-malfuzi*) and 'pronounced *h*' (*haa-i malfuzi*) found 3, 28 f., is, therefore, somewhat contradictory. R IV. 17 is apparently quite aware of the purely graphic significance of the 'final *h*.' M 26 uses different symbols for final *h* according to the presence or absence of final stress. Bellew 6 (§ 50) calls *a* : *hâi khafi*.

[4] In the Kandahar dialect no long *i* and *u* exist, only short vowels which correspond to the long vowels *ee* and *oo* respectively. See the table in 'Abdul Hay Habibi, *De Paastoo Adabiaatu Taarikh* ('*A History of Pashtu Literature*') vol. 1, p. 112 f. Kabul, 1325 [1946].

[5] *dz* is written in modern Afghan orthography by the Arabic symbol *ḥaa* and a *hamza* above it, *ts* by *ḥaa* and three dots above it; this differentiation is a recent innovation, see R III. 3, footnote. Rah. 1 ff. knows only the latter symbol which he pronounces *s* or *z*. Modifications of other Arabic symbols only used in the Pashto alphabet are the symbols for *zz, ss, nn, rr, dd, tt*.

1. 2. Regional Differences in Pashto.

Our Roman transcription with the phonetic values given above follows the Afghan alphabet which in turn reflects the phonemic system of the Kandahar or Southwestern dialect. The two other regional standards of Pashto, i. e. the one of Eastern Afghanistan with Jelalabad as its cultural center, and the one prevalent in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan and its capital Peshawar, do not agree with the orthography. In the latter, e. g., the symbols for *dz, ts, zz, ss* are written but they are pronounced respectively like *z, s, g, kh*, in the former the symbol for *zz* is usually pronounced *g*, and often *dz* as *z* (see fn. 17). Two of our authors have as their background the Kandahar dialect: S. Muḥamad and Ayaazi; but Rishtin speaks the Eastern, Rahimullah the Peshawar variety of Pashto. Rahimullah's transcription in the Latin alphabet clearly reveals the local Peshawar pronunciation: (*sõk*) instead of *tsook* 'who?'; (*vraz*) for *wradz* 'day'; (*kiss*) for *kils* 'nothing'; (*khaza*) for *ssedza* 'woman.'

Since however the orthography, i. e. the appearance in writing, is the basis for description in Afghan grammars, most regional differences in the pronunciation of the authors do not affect the grammatical statements at all, e. g. the variation between *ba* and *be*, *dee* and *di*, *mee* and *mi*, etc. (see § 2. 22).

1. 31. *shem/sem.*

The Kandahar dialect has *s-* instead of *sh-* in the forms of the defective auxiliary *shwel* 'to become,' and in *shta* '(there) is'; e. g. *sem* for *shem* '(I) become'; *raasem* for *raashem* '(that I) come'; *nesta* for *neshta* 'isn't'; *wesu* for *weshu* '(he) became,' etc. M uses the *s-* forms consistently but warns (vol. 2, 81) against confusing *swel/shwel* and *swel* (*swadzel*) 'to burn': *weshu* 'became,' *wesu* 'burned.' *s*-forms occur frequently in the writings of speakers of the Kandahar dialect.[6] But some avoid them: e. g. Ayaazi, Abdulla Ruf Ibnawa in his book *Meerways Nike* 'Our Ancestor Merwais' (Kabul, 1325 = 1946), etc.

1. 32. *-aast, -ey.*

The second person plural form of the verb shows some dialectal variation. In the Kandahar dialect, instead of the general *-ey*, the ending *-aast* always occurs in past tense forms and in the present tense after an *i* (*y*) of the stem, e. g. *tlaast* '(you) were going,' *wepooheedaast* '(you) understood,' instead of *tley*, *wepooheedey*; *yaast* '(you) are,' *waayaast* '(you) speak' instead of *yey*, *waayey*. M gives only *-aast* forms; A *-aast* forms as preferred beside *-ey*; Rah. only *-ey* forms transcribed as (ai); R I and III only *-ey* forms, R II and IV quote also *-aast* forms besides *-ey*. In *De Paastoo Keli*, vol. 1, 2, *-aast* forms are taught as preferred forms.[7] The Kandahar *-aast* forms seem to have acquired standard status besides *-ey* forms in Afghanistan.

1. 33. *-aay, -ay.*

Kandahar's uninflected optative form in *-aay* corresponds to Eastern *-ay* or *-ee*:[8] (*kashki*) *tlaay* '(if he only) went,' *pooheedelaay* 'understood,' *waay* 'were,' etc. *-aay* forms are given by M, A; *-ay* by R I, Rah.; R III gives *-ay* and *-aay* as identical. The Kandahar *-aay* form seems to be preferred even by writers with an Eastern background because it cannot be confused with the perfect participle in *-ay*, e. g. *pooheedelay* (see also §§ 5. 4, 6. 2).[9]

1. 34. *-, -oo, -ey, -e.*

The third person masculine singular of the past tense shows a certain amount of dialectal variation: the ending *-ey* is the Kandahar form,[10] *-oo* the form of Eastern dialects and of Peshawar. A and M avoid the dialectal *-ey*, R the dialectal *-oo* forms that are common in Rah.'s grammar: (*wahalo*) '(he) was being beaten,' (*rãghlõ*) '(he) came,' (*shwalo*) '(he) became.'[11] Forms without ending or with final *-e* are considered standard: *welid* or *welide* '(he) was seen.' A, M, and R indicate particularly forms with *-e*; Rah. 102 (§ 50) quotes endingless forms for 'Yusufzai Pushtu,' and 108 (§ 64) forms in *-e*, transcribed as (*-uh*), for 'some districts.'[12]

[6] In the volumes of *De Paastoo Keli* ('The Key to Pashto') that are intended for the instruction in Pashto of Persian speaking adults; in the pages of the Kandahar daily newspaper *Tuloo' i Afghaan* by contributors but not by the editors; consistently in 'A. Hay Habibi's *History of Pashtu Literature*.

[7] See R I. 63 f. (§§ 177 ff.), II. 15 f., III. 65, 80 ff., IV. 80 f., e. g. *raaghley* and *raaghlaast* 'you came'; *De Paastoo Keli*, vol. I, first part (n. d.), 55, 100, etc.; vol. II, part I (Kabul, 1318 [1939]), 11, 40, 61, 105, etc.; part II, 128, *ssey aast* (*ssey ey*) 'you show'; M 62 *waast* 'you were,' 65 *'raatlaast* 'you were coming'; A 28 f.; Rah. 56, 58. *-aast* forms are rare in foreign descriptions of Pashto; only R. Leech, Grammar of the Pashtoo or Afghánee Language, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 8. 1 ff. (January 1839), who states (p. 2): 'The Candharee is reckoned the purest dialect,' gave always *-aast* forms: (*ydst*), (*wást*), (*wsiydst*), (*wswayást*), etc. Raverty 51 quotes *yaastey*, 53 *yaast*, 54 *waast* 'were,' 55 *oosceedaast* '(you) were living' as 'in use in western Afghanistan'; similarly Trumpp 45 (§ 28).

[8] See M 64 *waay*, spelled *waace*, 67 *tlaay*, etc.; R I. 85 (§ 228) *tlelay*, etc., but 84 (§ 222. 6) *waay*; R III. 65, 80 f., 83. Rah. 63 f. spells the optative ending (*ay*); *De Paastoo Awal Kitaab* 'First Book of Pashto' (Peshawar, 1946) 5: *kawelee shey* '(you, pl.) can do' shows the local Peshawar pronunciation *-ee*. Also Lorimer § 205 speaks of final *-é*, which is, according to § 4, his symbol for *yee madzhhul* or the vowel in English *mate*.

[9] Trumpp 63: 'ai oder gedehnt (wie besonders im Westen) áē.'

[10] Morgenstierne § 26 commented on the frequent use of *-aay* by modern Afghan writers: 'I do not know whether this is merely an orthographic device, in order to differentiate the potential infinitive from the perf. ptc., or is based on an actual difference of pronunciation in some dialects.'

[11] The *-ey* ending is general in *raaghey* (*raaghley*) '(he) came,' and its compounds; it is universally used in Kandahar colloquial speech but not too often found in more formal writing. But, e. g., *De Paastoo Keli*, vol. III. 210 (Kabul, 1319 [1940]): *lidey* '(he) was being seen,' *oosceedey* '(he) was living'; A. R. Benawa, *Meerways Nike* 6: *rasceedey* 'was reaching,' 9 *ddecreedey* 'was increasing,' etc.

[12] See Rah. 58 ff., 76, 81, etc. The ending *-oo* was found in Dorn's source, e. g. 112: (*wãtãwõ*) '(he) was thrown,' etc. See also Raverty § 284: (*wãlwuzaawõ*) or (*wãlwuzaawõ*) '(he) was made to fly'; Lorimer § 219: 'in the Peshawar dialect sometimes *-elu*'; J. L. Vaughan, *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Pooshtoo Language* (Calcutta, 1854) mentions final *-u*. The ending *-oo* or its shortened form *-u* are general in *wu* '(he) was,' *shu* (*su*) 'became,' *su* 'was burning.'

2. Morphemic Analysis of Verbal Forms.

2.11. Present Tense.

Afghan grammars describe the morphemic constituents of a verbal form (*fi'l*, pl. *afa'aal* or *fi'luna* 'action'; *sigha* 'form'). In word-formation R III differentiates between the stem (*asli maada* 'basic matter,' *asaas* 'basis,' *asli huruf* 'basic letters'), prefixes (*preefiks, sarina turay, saabiqa*), and suffixes (*laahiqa, pasina turay*). Compound words or word-groups containing prefixes or formed with independent words are referred to as *terkib* 'compounded form,' those formed by means of suffixes usually as *ishtiqaaq* 'derived form.' Inflectional morphemes of nominal forms are usually called 'markers, signs' (*'alaama* or *'alaamat*, pl. *'alaamee* or *'alaamaat*; *nakhssa*, pl. *nakhssee*). The verbal stem specifically is called *fi'li maada* 'verbal matter,' e. g. *waay* in the present tense forms: *waayem* '(I) speak,' *waayee* '(you) speak (sing.),' *waayi* 'speaks, (they) speak,' *waayu* '(we) speak,' *waayaast* or *waayey* '(you, pl.) speak.' But the verbal endings *-em, -ee, -i, -u, -aast, -ey*, which are said to express 'first person' (*mutakalim*), 'second person' (*mukhaṭab*), 'third person' (*ghaa'ib*), are not called 'signs, markers' (*'alaamee, nakhssee*) but are referred to in all Afghan descriptions as 'affixed pronouns' (*mutaṣil ẓamiruna* or *ẓamaair*). Only Rah. 58 calls them 'suffixes.' They are considered one main type of the personal pronoun (*shakhsi ẓamir*), and they contrast with such detached personal pronouns (*munfaṣil ẓamaair*) as *ze* 'I,' *te* 'you,' *muzz* (Kandahar) or *munga* (Eastern) 'we,' etc.[13]

2.12. Past Forms.

The endings of the past tense *-em* (sing. 1st pers.), *-ee* (sing. 2nd pers.); *-, -e* (sing. 3rd masc.), *-a* (sing. 3rd fem.), *-u* (pl. 1st pers.), *-aast* or *-ey* (pl. 2nd pers.); *-el*,[14] *-e* (pl. 3rd masc.), *-ee* (pl. 3rd fem.), as e. g. in *dareedelem* '(I) was making a stop,' etc., are also called 'verbal affixed pronouns' (*fi'li mutaṣil ẓamiruna*; in Persian: *ẓamaair i muṭaṣila*) in Afghan descriptions. The first part of the past tense form, e. g. *dareedel-* in *dareedelem* is identified with the verbal noun (*maṣdar*).[15] R I. 53 (§ 153), and in greater detail, R IV. 89 f. even differentiates between two cases (*ḥaalat*, pl. *ḥaalaat*) of the basic verbal pronouns: an actor's case (*faa'ili ḥaalat*; Persian: *ḥaalat i faa'ili*), e. g. *-em* in the present tense form *waayem* '(I) speak' or in the intransitive past tense *dareedelem*, and a 'goal of action case' (*mafa'uli ḥaalat*; Persian: *ḥaalat i mafa'uli*), e. g. *-em* in the transitive past tense form *tarrel-em* '(I) was being tied.' The active and passive meanings of the two past forms (see below § 4. 11) are thus described as a nominal feature of the 'verbal pronoun.'

2.21. Perfect Phrases.

The perfect phrases consist of forms of the auxiliaries *yem* '(I) am,' *wem* '(I) was,' and the perfect participle in *-ey* or *-ay*, fem. *-ee*: e. g. *dareedeley yem* 'I have made a stop,' etc. (see also § 6. 1). In Afghan descriptions they are occasionally treated as a unit. M calls the auxiliaries 'markers' (*'alaamaat*) that are added to the participle; R I. 29 (§ 84) calls them 'verbal pronouns' (*fi'li ẓamiruna*), although essentially verbs (*fi'aal*) themselves; R III. 65 f. states that they are auxiliary verbs (*imdaadi afa'aal*) but also pronominal (*ẓamiri*) or verbal (*fi'li*) suffixes (*laaḥiqa*) since they express person and number.

2.22. Prefixes.

Word-order in complex verbal phrases facilitates the recognition of constituent parts such as prefixes: the negation *na* (or *ne*), the modal particle *ba* (or *be*), the pronominal particles *mi* (or *mai*), *ti* (or *dee*), *(y)ee, wu* (or *woo*) are put between the aspectual prefix *we* (or *wu, wa*) or other prefixes and the stem or second part of the verb: *na be mu ne zi* '(he) will not take us,' *we be yee tarrem* '(I) won't tie it.'[16] *we* is called a 'preverb' by R III; other prefixes (*saabiqee*) like *pa, pori, kssee, nena, dzhaar, laandi, praa, teer, ba, boo*, the 'pronominal prefixes' (*ẓamiri saabiqee*) *ma, dar* (*der*), *war* (*wer*) are also listed.[17] In modern Afghan orthography the various parts of the verbal phrases are almost always written separately in spite of their frequent pronunciation in close juncture (see also § 6. 6).

[13] See M 65, 68, fn. 1; A 64, 68, 70; R I. 14 (§ 45), 77 (§ 207 f.), 84 (§ 223); R II. 15 f. (table showing 'verbal pronouns'); R IV. 88 ff. — Foreign descriptions are influenced by the native tradition, e. g. Raverty § 135 lists verbal endings under 'pronouns'; Bellew § 70 discusses 'affixed personal pronouns' and 'detached personal pronouns'; similarly Roos-Keppel 60.

[14] The unification conference (see above, fn. 12) recommended the *-el* ending: *raaghlel* '(they, masc.) came.'

[15] See A 68, 70; R I. 14 (§ 45), 84 § 223). Rah. states that in order to form the past tense one has 'add to the infinitive the following suffixes: *-m, -e*, etc. similarly Bellew § 75. — Historically the Pashto past tense developed from the past participle; this is still evident from the nominal characteristics of the third person forms, e. g. their distinction of gender, and the passive meaning of the transitive past tense forms. In certain foreign descriptions the past tense was described as a combination of the participial stem and reduced forms of the verb 'to be': *tarrelem* as *tarrel* and *yem* 'I am,' *tarrelee* 'you were being bound' as *tarrel* and *yee* 'you are'; see Trumpp 44 f. (§ 28), 45 (§ 44). According to F. Müller, Die Conjugation des afghânischen Verbums, *Sitzungsberichte phil.-hist. Classe Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien* 65. 692 (1867), the past tense is formed 'durch unmittelbare Anfügung des Verbums substantivums, welches hier zu den gewöhnlichen Personalsuffixen verkürzt erscheint.'

[16] See R I. 80 (§ 216 f.). R II. 40 (71, note) warns against taking the pronominal particle *yee* in verbal phrases as part of the basic form (*aṣla sigha*).

[17] See R III. 70 f. — *boo-* in *boozem, boottem* is frequently taken to be a prefix, and the verb considered a compound of *tlel* 'to go'; the forms are, however, quite different (see § 4. 2). A hypercorrect pronunciation *boodzi* because of *dzi* 'goes' by speakers of dialects where the cluster *dz* appears as *z* (see § 1. 2) seems to occur. — Rah. 88 gives a list of 'particles'; *boo-* is not included.

2.3. Compound Verbs.

It is a characteristic feature of Pashto word-formation that causative and ingressive (intransitive) verbs can be freely formed from adjectives, nouns, sometimes from particles, and from other verbal stems by the addition of *-awem* and *-eezzem* respectively in the present tense, particularly if the nominal forms end in a consonant: *wutshawem* '(I) make dry,' *wutsheezzem* '(I) get dry.' If they end in a vowel, usually a phrase with *kawem* or *keezzem* respectively is formed, e. g. *pekhlaa kawem* '(I) conciliate, reconcile,' *pekhlaa keezzem* '(I) get reconciled.' Also most of the compounded verbs in *-awem* and *-eezzem*, especially those formed from adjectives, suffer 'decomposition,' i. e. are broken up into a phrase of nominal form and verb in the 'perfective' forms of the verb (see § 3. 4 on aspect in Pashto), namely in the perfective-subjunctive present, the perfective past, the perfective imperative forms, and also in the perfect participle: *wutsh kem* (or *kerrem*) '(that I) make dry,' *wutsh shem* '(that I) become dry'; *wutsh shewey* 'having become dry.' The perfective forms of the irregular verbs *kawem, keezzem* appear in these phrases (see below § 4. 2).

Afghan descriptions differentiate between 'simple, uncompounded' (*waẓi'i, basiṭ*) and 'compounded' (*terkibi, murakab*) verbs: *dareedel* 'to make a stop' (intransitive) and *darawel* 'to stop (somebody)' (transitive) are called 'simple' because *dar* 'has no meaning by itself,' but *wutsheedel* and *wutshawel* are called 'compounded' because the adjective *wutsh* 'dry' occurs as a free form.[18] *wutsheedel* is sometimes taken to be a 'weakened' (*mukhafif*) form of *wutsh keedel, wutshawel* as a 'weakened' form of *wutsh kawel*; *wutsheedel* and *wutshawel* are considered very close to phrases like *pekhlaa keedel, pekhlaa kawel* where no compounding takes place even in the durative forms.[19] 'Compounded' verbs in *-awel, -eedel* are subdivided according to their assumed derivation from such forms as, e. g., an impersonal verb: *khandawem* '(I) make laugh' from *khandel* 'laughing'; the present stem of an intransitive verb: *alwezewem* '(I) make fly' from *alwezem* '(I) fly'; from the verbal noun (*maṣdar*) of a transitive verb: *aghustawem* '(I) make (somebody) dress' from *aghustel* 'put on (clothes)'; from a 'noise word' (*ḥarf i ẓawt*) : *shrangawem* '(I) sound, make ring' or *shrangezzi* '(it) rings' from *shrang* 'ring'; from a noun (*ism*) : *dzhangawem* '(I) fight, wage war' from *dzhang* 'war, fight.'[20] The frequent derivation of compounded verbs from the feminine form of the adjective is correctly, even if sometimes awkwardly, stated: *pakhawem* '(I) make ripe, cook' from *pookh*, fem. *pakha* 'ripe, cooked.'[21] Syntactically the phrase *pekhlaa kawel* 'reconciling,' which can take another goal of action (*mafa'ul*), is differentiated from *kaar kawel* 'doing work' where *kaar* 'work, job' is the goal of action of *kawel* 'doing.'[22]

3. Grammatical Categories.

3.1. Tense.

The Pashto verb has only two simple tenses: the present: *ze dareezzem* 'I make a stop,' and the past: *ze dareedelem* 'I was making a stop.' It inflects for person, number, and in the third

[18] See A 60, note; R I. 56 f. (§ 164); M 59.

[19] See R IV. 166. Rah. 81 f. speaks of 'derivative verbs which are formed by leaving out the first letter *k* of (*kawal*) and (*kèdal*).' R III. 77 and IV. 158 f. points out that ordinarily no compounding can take place if the nominal form ends in a vowel.

[20] See R IV. 154 f.

[21] See R I. 57 (§ 166): 'if the feminine form of the adjective drops the '*waaw*' (i. e. *oo* or *u*), it is also dropped in the verbal noun'; also A 60, R IV. 155. 3.

[22] See R IV. 151.

person of the past (originally of nominal, i. e. participial origin) for gender.

Afghan descriptions use the Arabic terminology for grammatical categories that is also used by Persian grammarians. The verb (*fi'l*) differentiates person (*shakhṣ*), tense (*zamaana* 'time'), number, i. e. between singular (*mufrad, waaḥid*) and plural (*dzhama'*), gender (*dzhins*), i. e. between masculine (*muẕakar*) and feminine (*muanaṣ*). Five tenses are differentiated: present (*ḥaal*), future (*mustaqbal*), past (*maaẓi*), present perfect (*qariba maaẓi* 'proximate past'), past perfect (*ba'ida maaẓi* 'remote past'); e. g. *dareezzem*; *ba dareezzem* '(I)'ll make a stop' (see below § 6. 41); *dareedelem*; *dareedeley yem* '(I) have made a stop'; *dareedeley wem* '(I) had made a stop.'[22]

3. 2. Mood.

Pashto has a special imperative form in *-a* in the singular; furthermore, an uninflected optative form in *-aay* (or *-ay*, see § 1. 33) which combines to a potential phrase with forms of *shem* 'I can, am able' (see below § 6. 2). Durative forms and corresponding perfective forms with a stressed prefix *we-*, sometimes only with different stress, sometimes even with different stems (see § 4. 2), contrast in the present, the past tense, and the imperative of the verb: *dareezzem* and *wedareezzem* '(that I) make a stop'; *dareedelem* '(I) was making a stop' and *wedareedelem* '(I) made a stop'; *dareezza*! 'Keep on stopping!' and *wedareezza*! 'Stop!' As in the case of the difference between the present tense forms *dareezzem* and *wedareezzem*, so the one between *dareedeley dey* '(he) has stopped' and *dareedeley wi* (or *yi*) '(that he) have stopped' in the third person of the present perfect phrase seems rather a distinction in mood (between indicative and subjunctive) than a distinction between a durative and a perfective aspect. The modal particle *ba* (*be*) is added to verbal forms in various meanings which we will take up later (§ 6. 4).

Afghan descriptions recognize the following moods (*ẓurat*, pl. *ẓuratuna* 'shape, form'): imperative (*amri ẓurat, amr*) as in *wedareezza*!; optative (*tamanaai*), e. g. *dareedelaay*; potential (A's *iqtidaari*, R's *imkaani*), e. g. in the potential phrase *ze dareedelaay shem* 'I can stop.'[23] An indicative (*akhbaari*), which is said to express the certainty of an action, is primarily recognized for the present tense and the present perfect phrase *dareezzem, dareedeley yem*. Other moods seem to be based on certain 'subjunctive' uses of perfective verb forms, formally on the occurrence of the modal particle *ba* (*be*) (see § 6. 43, 6. 44) and such particles as *ka* 'if,' etc.: conditional (*sharṭi, sharṭiya*), 'dubitative' (*shakiya*; *iḫtimaali* 'mood of probability').[23] The conditional (*sharṭiya*) as e. g. in *ka wedareezzem* 'if I (should) stop' is stated to express 'condition, lack of certainty,' the optative (*tamanaai*) a wish (*aarzoo, khwaahish*) or desire (*tamanna*); the dubitative (*shakiya*) doubt (*shak, shubha, taradud*) or probability (*iḫtimaal*).

3. 3. Voice.

Pashto has a passive phrase consisting of a nominal form of the transitive verb and forms of the irregular auxiliary *shwel* 'to become, get': *ze tə rrel(ey) keezzem* 'I am being tied' (see § 6. 3). The agent or actor, who is always expressed in the past tense of the transitive verb, is not mentioned.

In Afghan descriptions the passive is called *madzhhul* 'unknown,' the active voice *ma'alum* or *ma'aruf* 'known.' In passive phrases the verbal form is stated to be connected with a goal of action (*mafa'ul*), i. e. *ze* 'I' in the example above, while the actor or agent (*faa'il*) is not mentioned; the active verb is always 'linked to an actor' (*faa'il*).[26]

R IV. 156 ff. recognizes not only passive verbal phrases as 'passive' (*madzhhul*) but he calls all intransitive verbs in *-eedel* or nominal phrases with *keedel* (see above § 2. 3) 'transitive passive' (*mula'di yi madzhhul*) if some other actor is implied but not expressed, but intransitive (*laazim*) if no other actor seems involved. He apparently considers the one form *pakheedel* in the meaning 'to get cooked' as 'passive transitive,' in the meaning 'ripen' as intransitive. This semantic analysis has no basis in formal distinctions.

3. 4. Aspect.

There is no special term for a category 'aspect' in the Afghan descriptions of Pashto but the statements found clearly reveal its recognition for Pashto morphology. R III. 64 f. contrasts durative (*istimraari* 'continuous') and perfective (*muṭlaq* 'definite, absolute') forms in present, imperative, past, optative; the latter form is derived from the former by prefixing *we* which has the meaning of 'definiteness' (*iṭlaaq*) and 'singleness, uniqueness, absoluteness' (*tadzhrid*). The aspect distinction between the present tense forms *dareezzem* and *wedareezzem* is combined with a mood distinction. Rah. 57, therefore, uses the terms 'aorist' and 'present subjunctive' for the *we*-present. A 64 even calls the durative present in English 'present indefinite' and *fi'l i ḫaal i muṭlaq*, while he labels the phrase *ze laẓiaa yem dareezzem* 'I am busy stopping' in English 'continuous present tense,' or *ḫaal i istimraari*; he obviously recognizes the category of aspect and looked for a phrase to fill the durative spot in the present.

A clear aspect distinction is revealed when the particles *ba* (*be*) and *di* (*dee*) are used with present tense forms. *ze ba dareezzem* 'I'll be stopping' is called 'continuous future' (*istimraari mustaqbal*), *ze ba wedareezzem* 'I'll stop' 'absolute future' (*muṭlaq mustaqbal*). A 75, R I. 79 find continuation and duration (*istimraar, mudaawimat*) in the durative 'future' form. When first and third person present forms are used with the particle *di* (*dee*) in an imperative sense as the so-called 'imperative of the first person' (*mutakalim amr*) and 'imperative of the third person' (*ghaa'ib amr*), A 78 finds a distinction between 'continuous' (*istimraari*) and 'single, absolute' (*mudzharad*) forms: e. g. *ze di dareezzem* 'I must keep on stopping, I must stop now and then' and *ze di wedareezzem* 'I must stop' (see § 6. 5).[27] The aspect distinction between the durative imperative (*istimraar amr*; *mustamir* 'usual' *amr*) *waha*! 'Keep on beating! Beat now and then!' and the perfective imperative (*muṭlaq amr*) *wewaha*! 'Beat!' is clearly described by R I. 73 f. who finds in the first form 'continuation, duration' (*mudaawimat, hameeshawaali*), in the second one 'action without duration or repetition' (*bee la dawaama aw tekraar*); A 77 f. contrasts the same forms as 'continuous imperative' (*amr i ḫaaẓir i istimraari*) and 'simple imperative' (*amr i ḫaaẓir i mudzharad*).

The aspect distinction between the durative past (*istimraari maaẓi* 'continuous past') form *dareedelem* '(I) was stopping' and the perfective past (*muṭlaqa maaẓi*) form *wedareedelem* '(I) stopped' is described by R and A.[28] They find in the first form continuation, duration (*dawaam, istimraar*) or repetition (*tekraar*), in the second one the expression of completion (*tamaameede*) and happening (*keeds*). Rah. 58 ff. uses the terms 'imperfect tense' and 'past definite' respectively. R III. 83 note, distinguishes even a durative potential past (*istimraari imkaani maaẓi*) from a perfective potential past (*muṭlaqa imkaani maaẓi*) with the prefix *we*: *wewahalay shwem* '(I) could be beaten' and *wahalay* or *wahalaay shwem* (see § 6. 2).

It is interesting to note how all Afghan descriptions essentially recognize, at least indirectly, the category of aspect which until the present time even the best foreign descriptions failed to identify clearly.[29]

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[22] See R I. 59 (§ 171), 83 f. (§ 222. 3, 4); A 50 f., 69 f.; Rah. 50-62.

[23] R I. 73 (§ 103 f.) mentions three main moods (*gurtuna*): *amri* 'imperative,' *akhbaari* 'indicative,' *sharṭi* 'conditional,' and two additional moods: *iḫtimaali* 'mood of probability' and *imkaani* 'potential.' See also R I. 77 (§ 200), 79 (§ 213), 84 f. (§§ 222. 7, 228) about the occurrences of the 'potential' in present, future, past. An 'optative' (*tamanaai*) is linked up with the 'conditional' (*sharṭi*): see A 71 f., M 64, R I. 84 (§ 226), 85 (§ 227); R III. 65, 83.

[24] See R I. 70 (§ 205), 79 (§ 212), 84 (§ 222. 6), 85 (§ 227) on occurrences of the 'conditional' (*sharṭiya, sharṭi*) in present (*sharṭi ḫaal*), future (*sharṭi mustaqbal*), past (*sharṭi maaẓi*). A 71 f. recognizes a 'past conditional tense' (*maaẓi yi sharṭiya*). As to the dubitative (*shakiya, iḫtimaali*) in the past, see A 72 f.; R I. 84 f. (§§ 222. 5, 227); R III. 66. A 64 ff. recognizes a 'conditional present' (*ḫaal i sharṭiya*) with *ka* before the perfective present form; an 'optative present' (*ḫaal i tamanaai*) with *kashki* and the perfective present form; a 'dubitative present' (*ḫaal i iḫtimaali*) with *gund* 'perhaps' and the perfective present. He calls the perfective present form without particles 'potential present' (*ḫaal i iltizaami*) from its use in a question asking permission: *wedareezzem*? 'May I make a stop?'. A obviously made a special effort to represent all mood categories in the present tense by means of phrases.

[26] See R I. 27 (§ 79); A 61 f.; R IV. 152 f.

[27] Rah. 90 finds continuation expressed by the use of (*dé*) before the durative form.

[28] R I. 83 f. (§ 220, 222. 1, 2); R II. 44 f. (§ 77 ff.); A 68 ff.

[29] This even applies to Trumpp who (31 f.) criticizes Raverty and Bellew; he is accurate in his morphemic classification, recognizes (52 ff. [§ 32]) the consistent distinction between durative ('Imperfekt') and perfective ('Aorist') past tense forms in Pashto but he states (19): 'Imperativ wird gewöhnlich verstärkt (aber nicht nothwendigerweise) durch das Praefix vŏ-,' as if this merely were a morphemic variation of the imperative. Similarly W. Geiger, *Die Sprache der Afghanen* § 30, Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, I. Band. 2. Abt. (1898-1901); Lorimer § 242. — But see H. Penzl, Aspect in the Morphology of the Pashto (Afghan) Verb, *Studies in Linguistics* 1. 10. 1-4 (April

4. CLASS DIVISION.

4.11. Transitive and Intransitive.

The Pashto verb shows a striking syntactic difference between transitive and intransitive past and perfect tense forms. The intransitive verb forms always have an active meaning, e. g. *ze wedareedelem* 'I made a stop,' but the transitive verb in the past and in its perfect phrases has a passive meaning. The subject is the goal of action, an actor or agent is always expressed, e. g. *maa halekaan welidel* 'By me the boys were seen, I saw the boys.' The perfective past tense form *welidel* agrees in number (plural), gender (masculine), person (third person) with *halekaan*, the subject in the nominative case; *maa* 'by me, me' is the oblique case form of *ze* 'I' and indicates the agent or actor.

In Afghan descriptions the distinction between 'transitive verb' (*muta'di fi'l*) and 'intransitive verb' (*laazimi fi'l*) plays an important part.[20] It is stated that the meaning of a transitive verb, but not of an intransitive one, always demands an object, a goal of action (*mafa'ul*) beside the subject or actor (*faa'il*), and that the verb in transitive past and perfect forms agrees, not with the actor (*faa'il*), i. e. *maa* in the example above, but with the goal of action (*mafa'ul*), i. e. *halekaan*.[21]

R IV. 153 calls a small group of transitive verbs that have no definite subject in the past 'intransitive according to meaning, transitive according to use (*isti'maal*) and word-form (*lafz*)' and labels them 'verbs with transitive construction' (*masaadir i muta'di yi ḥukmi*), e. g. *khandel* 'to laugh,' *zharrel* 'to weep, mourn,' *ghapel* 'to bark,' *ghrrumbel* 'to roar.'

4.12. Auxiliaries.

Such function verbs as the forms of *yem* '(I) am,' *wem* '(I) was,' *shem* '(I) am able,' *keezzem* '(I) become,' that occur in perfect, potential, and passive phrases, as well as *kawem* '(I) do' in compound transitive verbs, where it corresponds to *keezzem* in compound intransitive verbs (see § 2.3), are sometimes called 'auxiliary verbs' (*imdaadi fi'l, fi'l i ma'aawin*) in Afghan descriptions.[22] A 63 who defines an auxiliary as a verb 'without an independent meaning,' calls *yem, wem* also a 'defective verb' (*fi'l i naaqis*). R I. 6 (§ 174) states that every verb in Pashto is either used as an auxiliary (*imdaadi*) or as a genuine true (*ḥaqeeqi*) verb.

4.2. Morphological Division.

Afghan verbs have either one stem for all forms, e. g. *tarr-* 'tie, bind'; or present and past stems differ phonetically, e. g. *darezz-, dareed-*; or present and past stems are altogether different, e. g. *wis-* (present), *lid-* (past) 'see.' The seven verbs *kawem* '(I) do,' *keezzem* 'become,' *dzem* 'go,' *raadzem* 'come,' *biaayem* 'lead away, convey,' *wrrem* 'take away, transport,' (*i*)*zzdem* '(I) put' have different stems for durative and perfective forms. Certain compounded verbs form durative forms by final, and perfective forms by initial stress, e. g. *ksseenaastel* 'to sit,' *preessoodel* 'to leave.'

In Afghan descriptions the compounded verbs are separated from the simple ones (see § 2). R divides the verbal nouns (*masaadir*), i. e. the verbs, into five groups according to their 'signs' (*'alaamat*) as 'having *-l'* (*laamwaalaa*); 'having *-wel'* (*welwaalaa*); 'having *-eedel'* (*eedelwaalaa*); 'having *kawel'* (*kawelwaalaa*); 'having *keedel'* (*keedelwaalaa*).[23] Verbs with the same stem in present and past are called 'regular' (*munaẓam, baaqaa'ida*) or 'not changing' (*taghir nakawunkey, taghir naapaẓir*); verbs with differing present and past stems are called 'irregular' (*ghayr munaẓam, beeqaa'ida*) or 'changing' (*taghir kawunkey, taghir paẓir*).[24] A difference in the present stem is described as a result of a change from the basic past stem that is found in the verbal noun (*masdar*) (see below § 5.1). This change is either called 'regular' (*qaanuni*) or 'irregular' (*beeqaanuna, ghayrqaanuni*) depending on the number of examples that can be found for each change.[25] Not only *win-, lidel* 'see' and *goor-, katel* 'look,' where suppletion is found within the paradigm, are called 'irregularly changing' but R I. 68 puts *nis-, niwel* 'seize, grasp,' and likewise R IV. 162 *wazhn-, wazhel* 'kill' and *mum-, mundel* 'find,' into this irregular group because compounds or other verbs with the same type of phonetic modification are lacking.

In R IV. 161 we find the first Afghan attempt to subdivide verbs into classes (*aqsaam* 'types') on the basis of their specific morphemic variation between past and present; such morphemic subdivision is a very striking feature of non-Afghan descriptions of the Pashto verb.[26] R IV who, incidentally, promises a more detailed description in the second part of his grammar, divides the 'verbs with regular changes' (*masaadir i taghir paẓir i qaanuni*) into eight classes: (1) *watel* 'go out,' *tlel* 'go'; (2) verbs in *-istel*, e. g. *teeristel* 'mislead, cheat'; (3) verbs in *-astel, ishtel, aastel*, e. g. *ksseenaastel* 'sit,' *wishtel* 'shoot'; (4) verbs in *-sstel*, e. g. *ghoosstel* 'wish, want'; (5) verbs with *aa/a* variation such as *wayel* 'say,' the impersonal verbs *khandel* 'laugh,' *zharrel* 'weep'; (6) *kssel* and compounds, e. g. *raakssel* 'pull off'; (7) verbs in *-ssoodel* or *-ssoawel*, e. g. *preessoodel* 'leave'; (8) verbs like *khwarrel* 'eat,' *niwel* 'seize, grasp,' *biwel* 'lead away,' *peezhandel* 'know.' This grouping can hardly be called much of an advance over A's list of the common irregular verbs in Pashto (112-7) because it is based on the orthography of the verbal noun without actual regard to the morphemic variation. *wez-, watel* 'go out' and the irregular *tlel* 'go' (*dzem* '[I] go'; *wlaarr shem* '[that I] go'; *wlaarrem* 'I went') were put into the same (first) class; *nis-, niwel* 'seize' and the irregular *biwel* 'lead away' (present: *biaayem*; perfective present: *boozem* '[that I] lead away'; perfective past: *bootlem*) were both put into the eighth class which apparently served as a catch-all anyway. The present first person singular of *teeristel* is *teerbaasem* (second class); of *ksseenaastel* : *ksseenem*, of *wishtel* : *welem* (third class); of *ghoosstel* : *ghwaarrem* (fourth class); of *raakssel* : *raakaazzem* (sixth class); of *preessoodel* : *preezzdem* (seventh class); of *khwarrel* : *khwrem*, of *peezhandel*: *peezhanem* (eighth class).

One would have expected to find at least the verbs that form the two stems by suppletion, as *teeristel, raakssel, preessoodel*, in the 'irregularly changing' group; the existence of several compounds prevented this. The difference between the durative and the perfective stems of seven verbs, e. g. *tlel, biwel*, as well as the formation of perfective forms by stress shift instead of use of the prefix *we-*, as in *teeristel, ksseenaastel, preessoodel* was never considered a basis for classification. Only *wrrel* 'to take away' is called 'irregular' (*ghayrqaanuni*) by R IV. 162 because of its perfective present *yoosem* '(that I) take away.' However, the difference in meaning between durative *preessood* '(he) was being left' with final stress, and perfective *preessood* '(he) was left' with initial stress, was noted by R III. 66.[27] The lack of orthographic representation is responsible for the failure of other Afghan descriptions to point out this important distinction.

Exceptional third person masculine past forms with medial *oo* as in *wekhoot* '(he) climbed' from *khatel, wekoot* '(he) was looked at' from *katel* were mentioned by R III. 66 who states they are isolated and not due to a 'basic change' (*asaasi taghir*). A 69 comments on a change from *a* to *aa* in the same form: *wewaahe* '(he) was beaten,' *wetaarre* '(he) was tied.'

R IV. 163 f. introduces a new type of verbal group, the 'synonymous verbs' (*masaadir i muraadafa*). This heterogeneous group is apparently intended to cover cases of variation of the entire verb stem, as e. g. in *mezzel, messel* 'to rub,' or of the verbal noun alone. The quoted verbal noun forms *kawel* and *krrel* 'to do,' *shwel* and *keedel* 'to become,' *biwel* and *bootlel* 'to lead away,' are formed from the durative and perfective past stems; *aghundel* beside *aghustel* 'to put on (clothes), dress,' *ssayel* beside *ssoodel* 'to show,' *uwel* beside *udel* 'to weave,' must have been formed from the present stem by analogy.

1943); Morgenstierne § 28: 'the category of aspect is of great importance in Pšt. but has been mixed up with the notion of mood.' Already *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* 85 (Oslo, 1927): (*ze ba kawum*) 'I shall, intend to, wish to, shall begin to, shall continue to do'; (*ze ba wukrem*) 'I shall do, I shall complete it.'

[20] See A 61; R I. 28 (§ 74); R II. 36.

[21] See R I. 87 (§§ 229-31); R II. 34 f., 58 f.; R IV. 70. See also H. Penzl, On the cases of the Afghan (Pashto) noun, *Word* 6.70 (§ 1).

[22] See R I. 62 (§ 173 f.), 63 f. (§ 177); R III. 79.

[23] See R II. 28 f.; R III. 35 ff.; R IV. 148.

[24] R I. 60 ff. (§ 178 ff.); III. 63 f.; A 62.

[25] M 69, R I. 68 (§ 183).

[26] Raverty §§ 151 ff. lists 13 intransitive, 24 transitive verb classes; Bellew §§ 7 ff. two intransitive, three transitive main classes with many subdivisions; Trumpp 6 f., 23 ff., three intransitive, six transitive classes; Roos-Keppel §§ 73 ff. three intransitive, three transitive main classes; Lorimer §§ 167 ff. five intransitive, eight transitive classes, and auxiliaries.

[27] 'The perfective forms (*muṭlaqi ṣighee*) of some bipartite verbs are not formed by adding (*se*) to the durative (*istimraari*) forms but by changing the pronunciation, i. e. by putting the accent (*akzint, khadzh*) on the first syllable.' See also Penzl, article cited in fn. 29; Morgenstierne § 29; in 114, fn. 3 he quotes as authority for this significant shift of stress Ahmad Jan 'whose intimate knowledge of his mother-tongue is beyond doubt.' Other non-Afghan descriptions have failed to mention this important feature.

5. Basic and Derived Forms.

5.1. The Verbal Noun (*Maṣdar*).

If a Pashto verb has not only one but two stem forms, the durative and perfective present tenses and the imperative are formed from the present stem; but the past tense forms, the optative in *-aay* (*-ay*), the perfect participle in *-elay* (*-eley*), the 'present participle' in *-unkey*, fem. *-unkee*, the verbal noun in *-el*, and other nominal derivatives are formed from the past stem.

In Afghan descriptions the verbal noun in *-el* (*maṣdar*, pl. *maṣaadir*, *maṣdaruna*; *fi'li num*, *ism i fi'l*),[38] which has preserved all nominal features, is constructed like a masculine plural, and has an oblique case ending *-oo* (*-u*), is considered the general basis for and source of all verbal forms.[39] We mentioned (§ 4.2) that the past stem, as revealed by the verbal noun (*maṣdar*), is taken to be the basic stem form, not the present stem. Sometimes secondary basic forms are recognized: R I. 66 (§§ 178 ff.) calls the present imperative (*amr*) a 'second *maṣdar*,' and the perfect participle (*fi'li ġifat* 'verbal adjective') basic forms (*aṣli* or *asaasi ashkaal*) from which other forms (*ġighee*) and phrases are derived; R III. 64 recognized the durative present (*istimraari ḥaal*), the durative past (*istimraari maazi*), and the perfect participle as three basic forms (*asaasi ġuratuna*) derived from the general base, the verbal noun (*maṣdar*).

5.2. Present.

In Afghan descriptions the present stem is derived from the verbal noun. According to A 64, the durative present *darcezzem* is derived from the verbal noun *dareedel* by dropping *-el*, changing *d* into *zz*, and adding the 'affixed personal pronouns' (see § 2.11).[40] Taking the verbal noun as a base form, according to R III. 11 f., the present form can be derived from it by four different processes: by 'addition' (*ziaatwaali*), 'loss' (*ḥazf*), 'weakening' (*takhfif*), 'change' (*ibdaal*), e.g. *khaandi* 'laughs' comes from *khaandel* by 'addition of *alif*'; *nessi* 'sticks' from *nsatel* by 'loss of *t*'; *wezi* (he writes *wedzi*) from *watel* by 'changing of a letter' (*de yaw ḥarf awrreedel*).

Only R I derives the present tense from the imperative, in all other grammars the imperative is derived from the present tense.[41] A, obviously for semantic reasons, derives the imperative from the second person singular of the present tense, M apparently from the third person.[42]

5.3. Past.

Afghan grammars describe the past tense as formed by adding the endings, i.e. the 'verbal' or 'affixed personal pronouns,' directly to the verbal noun (*maṣdar*): e.g. *dareedelem* or *dareedem* '(I) was making a stop' from *dareedel* 'stopping.' *-el* may be kept or lost in other forms but is always lost in the third person masculine singular. The perfective past *wedareedelem* '(I) stopped' is formed by adding *we* to the verbal noun.[43]

5.4. Optative.

Afghan descriptions derive the uninflected optative form from the verbal noun (*maṣdar*): *dareedelaay* from *dareedel*.[44] M 67 states that the sign (*'alaama*) *-el* of the verbal noun is removed and *aai* is added: *tlaai* '(if I only) went' from *tlel*.

[38] See R II. 27 f.; R III. 34.

[39] R I. 56; III. 63; A 57. R IV. 106 f. discusses the case-forms (*ḥaalaat i ḥafżi*) of the verbal noun. Vaughan, *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Pooshtoo Language* 68 f. (§§ 104 ff.) states that 'the infinitive is to be regarded as the root of all verbs.' W. Geiger, *Sprache der Afghanen* § 12 calls the verbal noun 'weiter nichts als Plurale des präteritalen Partizips.'

[40] R I. 74 (§ 199), M 68 give similar descriptions of the derivation from the *maṣdar*.

[41] R I. 77 (§ 207 f.) derived the durative present (*akhbaari ḥaal* 'present indicative') from the durative imperative (*istimraari amr*), and the perfective present (*sharti ḥaal* 'conditional present') from the perfective imperative (*mutlaq amr*); but differently R III. 81 f.; Rah. 58. Among foreign describers, Trumpp 15 (§ 19) derives the present from the imperative: 'Die Wurzel des Paṣtó-Verbs ist . . . im Imperativ zu suchen, welcher den Verbal-Stamm rein darstellt. Von dem Imperativ wird dann das Praesens, der Subjunctiv und das Futurum abgeleitet.' Lorimer 210 ff. also derives the present from the imperative which comes 'from the base of the infinitive when the verb has only one base' (§ 183).

[42] M 72: '*i* in *dzi* "goes" changes into (*ā*)' (see footnote 3 above): *dzā* 'go!'; A 77 f.

[43] A 68, M 60, R I. 84 (§ 223); similarly non-Afghan describers: Vaughan, *Pooshtoo Language* § 107; Lorimer § 219: 'the forms of the imperfect and past definite tenses assimilate to that of the infinitive which, for practical purposes, may be regarded as their base.' Trumpp 43 considers the base the 'Particip des Praeteritums,' also 52 (§ 32).

[44] See R III. 80. But Trumpp 51 (§ 31): 'Das Paṣtó leitet von dem Imperfect einen eigenen Modus conditionalis ab, der auch mit einer Wunsch-Partikel den Optativ ausdrückt.'

'going.' Such short forms without *-el* are also mentioned by R I. 78 (§ 209) and Rah. 109 (§ 65).[45] A 65 calls the optative form occurring in the potential phrase a 'noun expressing a goal of action' (*ism i mafa'ul*).[46]

5.51. Perfect Participle.

The perfect participle is stated to be derived from the verbal noun (*maṣdar*) by the addition of *-ay* (*mulayina yee*) or *-ey*: *dareedelay* or *dareedeley* from *dareedel*. Short forms without *-el* are mentioned, e.g, by R III. 59, R IV. 177, 179 f.: *preewatey* 'fallen' from *preewatel*. The perfect participle is called 'verbal adjective' (*fi'li ġifat*, pl. *ġifaat*, *ġifatuna*); the participle of an intransitive verb also 'actor's adjective' (*faa'ili ġifat*) or 'actor's noun' (*faa'ili ism*; in Persian: *ism i faa'ili*); the participle of a transitive verb with its passive meaning, e.g. *lideley* 'seen,' *tarreley* 'tied, bound,' also 'goal of action adjective' or 'goal of action noun' (*mafa'uli ġifat*, *mafa'uli ism*).[47]

In the case of *raatlel* 'come (to me),' *dartlel* 'come (to you),' *wartlel* 'come (to him),' where we have both a durative and a perfective past stem, the verbal noun is derived from the durative past stem (*ratl-*, *dartl-*, *wartl-*) but the perfect participle from the perfective past stem (*raaghl-*, *darraghl-*, *warraghl-*): *raagheley*, *darragheley*, *warragheley*. R III. 59, note B and IV. 177, note, solves this descriptive dilemma by arbitrarily assuming a change from *t* into *gh*; thus the verbal noun remains descriptively the base of derivation.

5.52. Present Participle.

The 'present participle' is also described as a derivative of the verbal noun with the 'sign' (*'alaama*) *-unkey*, fem. *-unkee*: e.g. *dareedunkey* 'the stopping one,' *wahunkey* 'beater,' etc. Similar to the perfect participle, it is called 'verbal adjective' (*fi'li ġifat*), 'actor's adjective' (*faa'ili ġifat*), or 'actor's noun' (*faa'ili ism*; in Persian: *ism i faa'ili*). Rah. calls it 'noun of agency.'[48]

[45] Rah. 98 (§ 42) derives the 'present optative' from the first person of the durative past tense: '*-m* becomes *ay*.'

[46] Morgenstierne § 26 calls it a 'potential infinitive.' See below fn. 54.

[47] R I. 70 (§ 186), 71 (§ 189); R III. 58; R IV. 184.

[48] R I. 70 f. (§ 184 f., 187 f.); II. 30 f.; III. 56 ff.; M 73. Rah. 53 f.: 'the final l of the infinitive is changed into *unkay*.' Dorn 154: 'das *l* des Infinitivs nämlich wird in *u* verwandelt und *nkai* angehängt.' — The variant *-unay*, fem. *-unce* is frequently mentioned, e.g. by R III. 58; IV. 176.

[49] A 64 f., R I. 74 (§ 200), 84 (§ 224); III. 64 f. — Raverty derived the durative by omission of *we* from the perfective forms, e.g. 103 (§ 272): 'the present tense is formed from the aorist by rejecting the prefixed *we* of the latter'; also 116 (§ 322).

[50] A 79 derives a 'future imperative' (*amr i istiqbaali*), i.e. a perfective second person singular used in an imperative sense, from the imperative by 'removal of (*ā*) and adding *ee*.'

5.6. Durative and Perfective Forms.

The morphemic connection between indicative-durative and subjunctive-perfective presents, durative and perfective imperatives, durative and perfective past tense forms, i.e. between *darcezzem* and *wedareezzem*; *dareezza!* and *wedareezza!*; *dareedelem* and *wedareedelem*, is recognized in all Afghan descriptions. The perfective forms are described as being derived from the corresponding durative forms by prefixing *we*.[49] R I. 77 derived the durative present from the durative, the perfective present from the perfective imperative (see § 5.2). A 77 derived the durative imperative from the second person singular of the durative present, the perfective imperative from the corresponding perfective present form.[50]

5.7. Nominal Derivatives.

The verbal noun (*maṣdar*) occupies a key position in Afghan descriptions of their verbal system. It is not surprising, therefore, that its synonyms and other nominal derivatives from verbal stems are usually included in the descriptions. 'Derived verbal nouns' (*ḥaaṣil maṣdar*; R IV. 167: *ism i ḥaaṣil i maṣdar* 'verbal noun derivative') or 'verbal nouns as to meaning' (*ma'nawi maṣdar*; in Persian: *maṣdar i ma'nawi*) are derived from the verbal noun by means of suffixes (*laaḥiqa*). A 112-7 lists nouns in *-ena* from each verb: *dareedena* 'stopping' from *dareedel*, *wayena* 'speaking' from *wayel*, *tlena* 'going' from *tlel*, *biwena* 'leading away' from *biwel*. Other derivational suffixes include *-e*: *waate* 'going out' from *watel*, *lide* 'seeing' from *lidel*; *-ang*: *ooseedang* 'living, residing' from *ooseedel*, *tlang* 'going' from *tlel*; *-esst*: *dzhoorresst* 'forming, building' from *dzhoorreedel*; *-aa*: *zharraa* 'weeping' from *zharrel*, *ghapaa* 'barking' from *ghapel*. R IV pointed out that not all 'verbal noun derivatives' (*ḥaaṣil i maṣdar*) were actually synonyms of the verbal noun (*maṣdar i ma'nawi*), which

designates the verbal action. While formations in *-ena*, *-e*, *-ang* were synonymous with the verbal noun, e.g. those in *-at* were not: *khandaa* 'laughter' was not the same as *khandel* 'laughing.'[51]

6. Verbal Phrases.

6.1. Perfect Phrases.

The perfect participle combines not only with the 'indicatives' *yem*, *wem* but also with the third person subjunctive-perfective forms *wi* and *yi* (see § 3.2), and with the optative *waay*. We have noted before that Afghan descriptions often treat the auxiliaries (*imdaadi fi'l*, *fi'l i ma'awin*) in these phrases as 'verbal pronouns' or as endings (*'alaamaat* 'signs, markers') and the participle as the nucleus, the basic form of the construction (see § 2.21, 5.1). A combination of the perfect participle and the unchangeable optative *waay* is called: 'past conditional tense' (*sharţi maazi*; in Persian: *maazi yi sharţiya*) after *ka* 'if,' 'past optative' (*tamanaai maazi*; in Persian: *maazi yi tamanaai*) after *kashki* 'if only': e.g. *ka ze dareedeley waay* 'if I had stopped,' *kashki ze dareedeley waay* 'if I only had stopped!'[52] A 72, M 64 consider the particles *ka* (*ḥarf i sharţ* 'conditional particle') and *kashki* (*ḥarf i tamanaai* 'optative particle') practically as part of the verbal phrase.

6.2. Potential Phrase.

The potential phrase consists of the forms of the irregular defective verb *shwel*, such as the present *shem* '(I) can,' the past *shwem* '(I) could,' the optative *shwaay*, and of the uninflected optative form in *-aay* (*-ay*). *ze dareedelaay shem* 'I can stop' is called 'potential present' (*imkaani ḥaal*; by A: *ḥaal i iqtidaari*).[53] *ze dareedelaay shwem* 'I could stop' is called 'potential past' by R I. 84 (*imkaani maazi*; A 71: *maazi yi iqtidaari*).

For types of Pashto where the optative ending is *-ay* or *-ee*, not *-aay*, and the perfect participles end in *-ay* (*-ee*), not in *ey*, optative and participle have been considered identical.[54] R I. 78 (§ 209) and 85 (§ 228) who calls the optative 'verbal adjective' (*ṣifat i fi'li*), his term for the perfect participle, seems to hold this opinion but not R III. 80 f. who equates *-aay* and *-ay forms*. A who calls both the optative form in *-aay* and the transitive perfect participle 'noun of the goal of action' (*ism i mafa'ul*) keeps the two forms consistently apart.

6.3. Passive Phrases.

The passive phrases in Pashto consist of the perfect participle of transitive verbs ending in *-eley* (*elay*), fem. *-elee*, or more commonly of the past (passive) participial form in *-el*, fem. *-ele*, and such forms of the irregular verb *keedel* as *keezzem* (indicative-durative) '(I) become, get' *shem* (subjunctive-perfective) '(that I) become' *keedelem* 'I was becoming'; *shwem* '(I) became' *shewey* (perfect participle) 'become' with *yem*, *wem*, *wi*, *yi*, *waay*; *keed(el)aay* (optative). The participle in passive phrases agrees with the subject in gender and number and takes the prefix *we* in perfective forms.

In Afghan descriptions the passive participle is identified with the transitive perfect participle (*fi'li ṣifat* 'verbal adjective,' *ism i mafa'ul* 'noun of the goal of action,' *mafa'uli ṣifat*).[55] The passive participle in *-el* is generally identified as the verbal noun (*maṣdar*). A 69 gives *ze wewahaley shwem* 'I was beaten' with the perfect participle *wewahaley* (*ism i mafa'ul*) and *ze wewahal shwem* with the verbal noun (*maṣdar*) *wewahal* as equivalent.[56] He also quotes passive (*madzhkhul*) phrases corresponding to all active (*ma'aruf*) durative and perfective forms in present, imperative, past, and derives them also from active potential and perfect phrases:[57] e.g. the 'passive present subjunctive' (*fi'l i ḥaal i iltizaami yi madzhkhul*) *ze wewahaley shem* '(that) I be beaten'; 'passive perfective past' (*maazi yi muṭlaq i madzhkhul*) *ze wewahaley shwem* 'I was beaten' (M's *maazi yi madzhkhul* 'passive past'); 'passive past potential' (*maazi yi iqtidaari yi madzhkhul*) *ze wahaley keedelaay shwem* 'I could be beaten'; 'passive past conditional tense' (*maazi yi sharţiya yi madzhkhul*) with the particle *ka*: *ka ze wahaley shewey waay* 'if I had been beaten'; 'passive past optative' (*maazi yi tamanaai yi madzhkhul*) with the particle *kashki*: *kashki ze wahaley shewey waay* 'if I only had been beaten!'

6.4. Phrases with *ba* (*be*).

6.41. With Present.

The modal particle *ba* (*be*) occurs with the following verbal forms in Pashto: (1) durative and perfective present forms; (2) durative and perfective past forms; (3) present and past perfect phrases. Its meaning varies according to the context and may imply: futurity (with present tense forms, also with present perfect, see § 6.43); repetition and continuation (with past tense forms, see § 6.42); doubt or uncertainty (with perfect phrases, see §§ 6.43, 6.44); emphasis and certainty (with present tense forms; the past perfect phrase, see § 6.44).

Afghan descriptions always consider *ba* part of the verbal phrase and base tense and modal distinctions on the occurrence of this particle. *ba* is called a 'sign of the future' (*de istiqbaal 'alaamat*) by A 75, and the combinations of *ba* with present tense forms are labelled 'future tense' forms. *ba* with a durative present is called 'future indicative' (*akhbaari mustaqbal*) by R I. 79 (§ 211), 'continuous future tense' (*mustaqbal i istimraari*) by A; e.g. *ze ba dareezzem* 'I shall be making a stop.' *ba* with a perfective present form is called 'definite (perfective) future' (*muṭlaq mustaqbal*) by R III. 65, 'perfect (sic!) future tense' (*mustaqbal i muṭlaq*) by A; e.g. *ze ba wedareezzem* 'I'll make a stop.' *ba* with a future meaning is also found with the durative and perfective forms of the present passive phrases and with the present potential phrase: R III. 81 quotes a 'passive perfective future' (*madzhkhul muṭlaq mustaqbal*), e.g. *we ba wahaley shem* 'I'll get beaten'; A quotes a 'potential future tense' (*fi'l i mustaqbal i iqtidaari*, R's *imkaani mustaqbal*), e.g. *ze ba dareedelaay shem* 'I'll be able to make a stop.'

As was pointed out (§ 3.4), the aspect connotation of the present tense forms comes out clearly when they occur with the particle *ba*. R I. 79 (§ 211 f.) sees in the durative future phrase an expression of 'certainty' (*yaqini*), 'definiteness'; he calls the perfective future phrase 'conditional future' (*sharţi mustaqbal*), and finds in it 'doubt' (*shak, taradud*), 'possibility' (*iḥtimaal*), 'lack of certainty' (*neyaqin*), i.e. all subjunctive characteristics of the perfective present forms without *ba*. R III. 65 also finds in the 'durative future' (*istimraari mustaqbal*) the expression of 'emphasis' (*taakid*). Rah. 93 (§ 24), on the other hand, mentions a 'strong future' consisting of the aorist (i.e. the perfective present) preceded by *ba*, 'which stands for certainty and fixed time.'

6.42. With Past.

The particle *ba* occurs with both the durative and perfective past tense forms: *ze ba dareedelem* 'I was stopping'; *ze ba wedareedelem* 'I would stop (now and then).' The durative aspect is emphasized in the first case, repetition and habit is expressed in the second case.

Afghan descriptions do not pay much attention to this usage and have no special labels for the combination. Only Rah. 59, 65, 69 calls *ba* with the durative past the 'past habitual.'[58] According

[51] A 58 f.; R I. 67 (§ 167), 72 (§ 192); Rah. 53; R III. 39-43; R IV. 167 ff.

[52] R I. 84 f. (§§ 222. 6, 227). A 72 points out that *waay* is an unchangeable word (*laf̣z*). R III. 65 uses 'past optative' (*tamanaai maazi*) for a simple optative form with a *w(e)*-prefix: *waalwatelay* '(that it) would fly.'

[53] See R I. 78 (§ 209); III. 80 f.; A 65. — M 67 calls *ze tlaay sem* 'I can go' a 'past potential' (*maazi yi imkaani*), perhaps because *tlaay* is derived from the past stem; he refers to *scm*, *su*, etc. (see above § 1.31) as 'signs' (*'alaamaat*) (see above § 2.21).

[54] Foreign describers confused also the verb form *shem* 'I can, am able' and the homonymous perfective-subjunctive form *shem*, (*washem*) '(that I) become'; Raverty § 391 states, therefore, that the passive form is also used for the potential mood (*ṣigha i imkaani*). Trumpp 61 ff.: '*shem* hat nichts mit dem Hilfszeitwort "werden" gemeinsam.' The optative form is taken to be the perfect participle by Raverty § 393, Vaughan, *Pooshtoo Language* § 128, Lorimer §205; Lorimer, *Grammar and Vocabulary of Waziri Pashto* 33 (1902). Trumpp 64 f. storms against confusing the two forms in spite of just the 'oberflächlichste Ähnlichkeit'; he calls the form 105 f. (§ 52) a 'conjunktives Particip des Praeteritums auf *alai*, *ālāō* oder blosses *ai*, *āē* anlautend.' — V. Henry, *Revue Linguistique* 15.153, fn. 1, calls the potential phrase less 'une composition qu'une simple juxtaposition syntaxique'; (*zaḥ rasédalai ḥam*) 'I can arrive' means (*zaḥ*) 'je,' (*rasédalai*) 'que je sois arrivé, je serais arrivé'; (*ḥam*) 'je suis capable.'

[55] A 64, 69; R III. 81.

[56] R I. 62 (§ 173) quotes *wahalay keezzi* 'is beaten' and *likel keezzi* 'is written.' R III. 80 f. mentions as the durative passive present (*madzhkhul istimraari ḥaal*) both *wahel keezzem* '(I) am (being) beaten' derived from (the *maṣdar*) *wahel keedel*, and *wahalay shem* with the perfect participle (*mafa'uli ṣifat*); as the perfective present passive form (*madzhkhul muṭlaq ḥaal*): *wewahalay shem*. — M 67 quotes *welid su* '(he) was seen,' *wewaahe su(shu)* '(he) was beaten' where the participial forms are like the third person singular masculine of the transitive past tense. Similarly Dorn 126 gives *astshaawoo shwem* '(I) was being thrown' as 'Imperfect Passiv' (see above § 1.34). Trumpp 107 ff. (§ 53) consistently distinguishes between a 'Particip des Praeteritums' and a 'Particip des Perfects,' the former being derived from the past tense.

[57] See 64 f., 69 ff.

[58] Bellew § 75.2c mentions a 'continuative past tense,' a 'māżī mudāmi'; Trumpp 50 f. (§ 30) 'habituelles Imperfect,' 55 (§ 33) 'habitueller Aorist'; see also Raverty § 230, Morgenstierne § 25.

to M 65, fn. 4, and R I. 84 (§ 224), the use of *ba* with the durative past is optional; its meaning is, according to R III. 65, 'more continuation' (*ziaat istimraar*).

6.43. With Present Perfect.

ba combines with the present perfect phrase and its subjunctive-perfective third person forms *wi* and *yi* to indicate doubt or uncertainty, sometimes futurity.

A 72 f. calls the combination of *ba* and the present perfect phrase 'past of probability' (*maazi yi iḫtimaali*); R. I. 84 f. (§§ 222. 5, 227) calls it also 'dubious past' (*shakiya*): *ze ba dareedeley yem* 'I may have stopped.' A finds doubt (*shak, shubha*) expressed. Rah. 107 (§ 59), who translates (*hagha ba rāghalay wee*)[58] by 'he must, will, or may have come,' calls this phrase 'future perfect or past dubious.'

6.44. With Past Perfect.

ba combines with past perfect phrases in the conclusion of conditional clauses referring to the past: e. g. *ka maa ta di paysee raakawelaay, ze be Kaabul ta tleley wem.* 'If you had given me money, I would have gone to Kabul.' In independent sentences *ba* either expresses doubt and lack of certainty, or the opposite: emphasis and complete certainty. *ze be yee lideley wem* can either mean 'perhaps I was (had been) seen by him,' 'I may have been seen by him,' or 'I must have been seen by him,' 'I definitely was (had been) seen by him.'

In Afghan descriptions the use of *ba* and the past perfect in dependent conditional clauses[59] is mentioned by R I. 85 (§ 227) who calls this a 'conditional past' (*sharṭi maazi*), while M 63 uses the terms 'past of probability' (*maazi yi iḫtimaali*) or 'dubious past' (*shakiya*). A special meaning of the phrase, a 'punitive past' (*maazi yi tawbeekhi*), is mentioned by A 73 and M 66.[61]

[58] (*wee*) is Rah.'s transcription for *wi*.—Trumpp 104 f. (§ 51), also 60 f. (§ 36), calls this phrase 'Futurum exactum' with its meaning 'unbestimmt, zweifelhaft,' 'but it is not to be confused with the subjunctive of the perfect which occurs only in the third person singular and plural: (vl)' (103, § 49).

[59] In foreign descriptions this is mostly called 'subjunctive of the past perfect'; e. g. Trumpp 58 ff. (§ 35), 104, who recognizes also a conditional of the past, i. e. *waay* (his val, vē, vā5) with the perfect participle, see 60 (§ 35c), 104 (§ 50c).

[61] The participle *khoo* indicating emphasis is often added in this phrase, according to A and M.—Morgenstierne 110, fn. 1, quotes M's 'deplorative preterite.'

The latter translates *raaghaley ba wu* in Persian by *baayad(zarur) meeamad* 'he must have come'; *afsoos ki na aamad* 'too bad he did not come'; *bad kard ki na aamad* 'he did wrong not to come.' This seems to be a special use of the emphatic *ba*.

6.5. *di* (*dee*).

The modal particle *di* (*dee*) occurs with first person and third person durative and perfective present tense forms in an imperative or sometimes optative sense: *ze di dareezzem* 'I must keep on stopping'; *ze di wedareezzem* 'I must stop'; *Aḫmad di dareezzi* 'Ahmad must keep on stopping'; *Aḫmad di wedareezzi* 'Ahmad must stop' (told to somebody else but Ahmad).

Afghan descriptions mention this combination.[62] Rah. 90 f. (§ 19) has no special term for it. A 78 speaks of a 'first person imperative' (*amr i mutakalim*) and a 'third person imperative' (*amr i ghaa'ib*), which can be either durative (*istimraari*) or perfective (*mudzharad*) (see § 3. 4). R III. 65 calls *di* (*dee*) a 'sign' (*alaama*) of the first and third person imperatives.

6.6. Negative Phrases.

The negatives *ne* (*na*) and *me* are usually pronounced in close juncture with the verbal forms and phrases and occasionally written together with them.

Afghan descriptions pay a good deal of attention to negated forms. Any verbal form is stated to be either 'affirmative' (*muṡbat*) or 'negative' (*manfi*).[63] M 67 mentions a 'negative past' (*maazi yi manfi*) with *ne* in initial or medial position: *neraaghey* or *raaneghey* '(he) did not come.' R III. 68 calls *ne* a prefix (*saabiqa*) with the negative verbs (*manfi afa'aal*). The use of *me* as negative only before the durative imperative is mentioned; the resulting negative command is called 'prohibitive' by Rah. 58,[64] *fi'l i nahi yi muṭlaq* by A 79 f., *manfi amr* by R I. 73 f. (§§ 196, 202).

[62] R I. 60 (§ 172), A 62.

[63] 'Is formed by changing the first (*wo*) of the imperative into (*muh*) : (*muh waha*) don't beat.'

7. Concluding Remarks.

(1) Afghan authors of Pashto grammars use essentially their own speech and their own dialect as a basis for their descriptions but they sometimes avoid forms they consider local or dialectal, and quote morphemic and phonemic regional variants. That firm grounding in their own language and dialect makes their descriptions more valuable as source-material for a linguist.

(2) Afghan descriptions use as illustrations almost exclusively colloquial rather than literary material. Their technique is always consistently descriptive, never historical to any extent; it is characterized by attempts toward rigid classification and subclassification.

(3) Features of the Arabic-Persian grammatical tradition are common, e. g. the grammatical terminology, which apparently largely determines the recognition of categories and subcategories; the interpretation of verbal endings as 'affixed personal pronouns' (see § 2. 11); the recognition of the verbal noun (*maṣdar*) as the general base form of the verb (see § 5. 1). The description by the Peshawar author Rahimullah shows also features of the Latin grammatical tradition of his English masters who, however, were influenced in their own descriptions by their native informants.

(4) The Pashto grammars in their time sequence, particularly the four Rishtin grammars, show distinct progress as to efficiency and economy of description. Orthography essentially remains the basis for description, but features not revealed by the spellings are recognized and described in later grammars (see § 4. 2).

(5) Afghan grammars sometimes base their descriptions on an analysis of meaning rather than on form (see §§ 3. 2 and 3. 3). Afghan descriptions of the meanings of verbal forms, however, appear more detailed and more accurate than those of foreign observers, e. g. as to distinctions in aspect (see § 3. 4).

(6) Some descriptive shortcomings can be observed. A clear-cut distinction between single forms and phrases is not consistently found in Afghan descriptions. This resulted in a tendency to incorporate not only phrases with such modal particles as *ba* and *di*, but even phrases with conjunctive particles like *ka* and *kashki*, into the verbal system. The morphological subclassification of the Afghan verb by Afghans recognizes the difference between present and past stems but ignores the formation of durative and perfective forms as a criterion for classification.

TAMIL VERB CLASSIFICATION

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[Tamil verb stems are usually divided into seven classes on the basis of the particular tense-marking suffixes found with them. Examination of the distributions of these suffixes indicates that to some extent they are determined by the phonemic shape of the preceding verb stem. The elimination of such phonologically conditioned alternations as a criterion for stem classification permits some reduction in the number of classes. A further reduction is made possible by establishment of a new morphemic element, which occurs between certain stems and tense suffixes. This new element, forming a new type of complex verb stem, is in complementary distribution with respect to some other complex stem-forming suffixes in the language.]

The finite affirmative verb forms (present, past, and future)[1] have the structure: stem + tense marker + personal ending. The personal endings are identical, with minor exceptions, for all tenses and for all verb stems, and hence irrelevant to verb classification. The verb stem as cited in the grammars[2] is for the most part formally identical with the singular second person imperative, but there are many alternations in stem forms that are only partially accounted for in the sandhi

[1] These terms by no means adequately express the meaning differences involved. present, past, and future have reference to formal, not semantic categories.

[2] A. H. Arden, *Progressive grammar of common Tamil*, 5th ed.; Madras, 1942.
H. Beythan, *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*; Leipzig, 1943.
G. U. Pope, *Handbook of the ordinary dialect of the Tamil language*, 7th ed.; Oxford, 1911.